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Subcultures and Innovation:

a Report for Knowledge Works

(National Centre for Cultural Industries, Norway)

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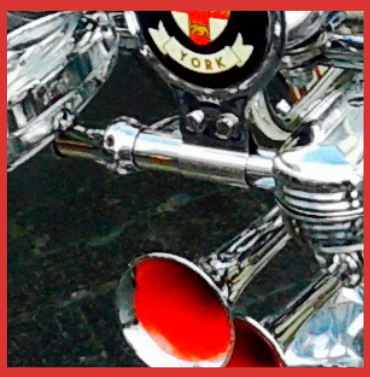

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(Prepared in consultation with Professor Atle Hauge, INN University Norway,
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KING'S College LONDON

Subcultures and Innovation – norsk sammendrag

På tross av påvirkningen ulike subkultur utvilsomt har hatt på det meste av kulturnæringene, er denne koblingen lite forsket på. I et samarbeid med Kings College, London og Stockholms Universitet har Kunnskapsverket sett på dynamikken i møte med motkultur og næring.

Subkulturer er nødvendigvis innovative i den forstand at de utvikler nye eller alternative utrykk, stiltrekk eller tolkninger: Innovasjoner som hovedsakelig handler om praksis og semiotikk - betydninger av ting og hvordan symboler leses, heller enn teknisk funksjonalitet. Subkulturell innovasjon får sjelden mye oppmerksomhet, men har en tendens påvirke langt utover opprinnelsen. De blir innflytelsesrike og får gjennomslag på en rekke områder som for eksempel mote, kunst, musikk og sport.

Det har vært et betydelig skifte i måten i hvordan sub-kulturer oppfattes, fra anklager om moralsk forfall på 1960- og 70-tallet til plassen sub-kultur fikk under åpningen av OL i London i London og under Punk London-programmet i 2016. I akademia har de etter hvert klassiske studiene ved Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) der man teoretiserte subkulturer som imaginære løsninger, og "sub-culture as a self imposed exile" fortsatt en betydelig plass. Det er mindre forsket på subkulturers bredere påvirkning, kulturelt og økonomisk selv om påvirkning og gjennomslag for subkulturelle strømninger kan gi store virkninger. For eksempel ser vi at Storbritannias Blair-regjering på slutten av 1990-tallet gjennom å omfavne begrepet "Cool Britannia", forsøkte å bruke noe av denne effekten. Dette må sees på som et forsøk på å innlemme og fremme kraften til alternativ musikkultur ved siden av en bredere oppmerksomheten mot kulturelle og kreative næringen (CCI) som helhet.

I dette forskningsprosjektet ser vi spesielt på Mods, egentlig en relativt marginal gruppe arbeiderklasseungdom på slutten av 60-tallet, og hvordan denne gruppen over tid har påvirket og blitt påvirket av det større (populær)kulturelle bildet. 1960-tallets Mods var typisk assosiert med trendy dresser med italiensk snitt, scootere og parkas for mennene og siste mote for både menn og kvinner. Musikken var R & B og soul, og med en livsstil som var sentrert rundt shopping, nattklubber dans, og til dels assosiert med bruk sentralstimulerende stoffer. Mods har senere dukket opp i populærkulturen, både som en pastisj og som mer eller mindre tydelig inspirasjon i ulike epoker og stiler. Dette er et spennende og interessant case i flere henseende. For det første viser det at ideen om en 'ren' subkultur som

blir appropriert av kommersielle krefter, og oversatt til en kommersiell vare for massemarkedet er en romantisering. I virkeligheten er det et mye mer rotete og komplekst forhold mellom subkultur, media og kommersielle krefter. I motsetning til den romantiske modellen, der subkulturer blir sett på uavhengige og ikke-kommersielle grupperinger som utvikler uavhengig av, og som en reaksjon på, massemedia og handel, viser Mod et komplekst og symbiotisk forhold til media og handel helt fra starten. Mens de på en side var kreative og subversive, var mods også entusiastiske forbrukere, som lånte fra ulike markeder, stiler og kilder og stilistiske kilder, og senere re-approprierte disse utrykkene og stilene. Dette viser Mods kreativitet og engasjement med slike kulturelle utrykk, og understreker det komplekse og hvordan relasjoner og påvirkninger veksler frem og tilbake.

Flere foretak bruker i dag denne tilknytningen og de historiske linjene for å bygge en sterkere merkevare. Vi ser spesielt på Doc Martens og Fred Perry. Vi viser at selv om det ikke er en klar og uavbrutt linje tilbake til den 'originale' mods-kulturen, forsøker man å bruke autensitet og historie i markedsføringen. Sub-kulturell kapital er en viktig ressurs for å bygge den moderne merkevaren.

Mods gir også et godt eksempel på stedets betydning. Vi fokuserer på Mod-subkulturen og på forholdet til Brighton, en historisk badeby på Storbritannias sørkyst, som en sentral subkulturell lokalitet. Selv om de hadde sitt fotfeste i London, er Brighton et av stedene som tettest er assosiert med mods. Dette skjedde blant annet fordi man på sensommeren i 1964 så vel som året etter, opplevede sammenstøt mellom mods og en tilsynelatende konkurrerende subkultur - rockers. Dette ble behørig dekket av media, og gjenstand for en heftig offentlig debatt. Dette var også tema for filmen *Quadrophenia*, løst inspirert av Whos album med samme navn. Filmen gjorde at mods og mods-stilen fikk en 'revival' på slutten av 70 og begynnelsen av 80-tallet. Store deler av handlingen i filmen utspiller seg i Brighton, og gjør at byen uløselig er spleiset med mods.

I dag ser vi at dette gjenspeiler seg i handlestrøk og enkelte butikker i Brighton. Det synes også på andre markører som 'street art', gate-skilt og gatenavn, i tillegg til at det hvert år samles scooter-kjørende mods for å hylle subkulturen. Her ser vi igjen et bilde på den komplekse men sterke relasjonen, mellom pop-kultur og merkevare. Selv om relasjonen mellom mods og Brighton var der siden midten av 60-tallet, var det første med filmen Quadrophenia at denne relasjonen virkelig ble sementert.

Vi konkluderer med at subkulturer og subkulturell innovasjon er best forstått som komplekse, nettverkseffekter. Subkulturell kapital kan være en effektiv måte for merkevarer og andre aktører å posisjonere seg, men at dette og er avhengig av allerede eksisterende subkulturelle forbindelser. Det er også spenninger i relasjonene hos aktører med subkulturell kapital – spenninger som må navigeres, men som også kan utnyttes.

The following is a report on a project on subcultures and innovation funded by *Knowledge Works* (on behalf of the Norwegian Ministry of Culture), which took place over the course of 2018. It presents the preliminary results of the project in summary form and attempts to draw some initial conclusions. The project was intended to consider subcultures and innovation in both conceptual and empirical terms, as explained below, in order to develop our understanding of their contribution to the cultural and creative industries. Although the formal project has now come to an end, the results presented here will inform our continuing work in the area, and will be developed further in additional presentations and publications.

Paul Sweetman, Department of Culture, Media & Creative Industries,
King's College London, March 2019

(in consultation with Atle Hauge, INN University Norway,
and Dominic Power, University of Stockholm)

1. Introduction and context

The concept of subculture is a contested one with a fairly long history in sociology, cultural studies, human geography and related disciplines. Briefly put, however, when we talk about subcultures we are talking about groups of often young people which coalesce around a lifestyle which marks them out to a greater or lesser extent from more mainstream social groups. This can include particular and distinctive ways of dressing, as well as values, interests, and activities, including a preference for particular sorts of music and ways of spending one's leisure time. Subcultures tend to look distinctive and act distinctively too. They also tend to be associated with particular places or locales.

Examples of well-known subcultures include Punk and Hip-Hop, the former originating in New York and London in the early- to mid-1970s, and the latter in New York a few years on. Both are partly music-based, but are also associated with particular and distinctive styles of dress and - in the case of Hip-Hop - with particular styles of dancing and graffiti too. Less music-centred subcultures include skateboarding and contemporary street-art, which centre respectively around the display of particular forms of physical and artistic prowess (Borden 2001; Macdonald 2001).

Subcultures are necessarily *innovative* in the sense that they develop new or different ways of behaving, forms of appearance and so on: innovations which are primarily about practice and semiotics - the *doing and meanings* of things - rather than of a technical form (see Jones, Lorenzo & Sapsed 2015). And their innovations in these areas although sometimes unsung, tend frequently to travel far beyond their subcultural origins, becoming influential and important in a range of fields such as fashion, art, music, and sport. They also leave their mark on places, affecting our experience and understanding as well as the physical texture of particular neighbourhoods and locales. In each of these senses they can, *and should*, be seen as key contributors to the cultural and creative industries.

There has been a notable shift in the way certain subcultures are perceived, in the UK at least, from widespread moral panics around Mods and Rockers in the 1960s and Punks in the 1970s (Cohen 2002; Hebdige 1979), to the representation of such groups in stylised form at the opening of the 2012 *London Olympics*, intended to

showcase the best of British culture, and the celebration of Punk, in particular, during the *Punk London* programme of 2016, officially endorsing '40 years of subversive culture'. Although focused on popular culture rather than subculture per se, the UK Blair Government's attempts in the late 1990s to embrace the notion of 'Cool Britannia' reflected a similar awareness of and attempt to incorporate and promote the power of 'alternative' music culture, alongside a wider concern with the cultural and creative industries (CCIs) as a whole (Garnham 2005; Oakley 2006; O'Connor 2007).

While the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham famously theorised subcultures as *imaginary* solutions, doomed ultimately to failure if measured in terms of their ability to effect real, substantive change (Clarke 1976; Clarke et al 1976), these more recent shifts indicate a growing awareness and appreciation of subcultures' wider impact, both culturally and in economic terms. At the same time, however, academic work specifically on subcultures has continued to focus predominantly on conceptual or theoretical debates, or offer empirical analyses of particular subcultural groups, without exploring their broader impact and effects. Debates around 'post-subcultural' studies, in particular, have been concerned predominantly with critiquing and updating earlier conceptual frameworks and/or offering ethnographic insights into the nature of contemporary 'subcultural' groups (see, eg, Bennett & Kahn-Harris 2004; Muggleton & Weinzierl 2003). The primary concern has been to explore whether subcultures as previously understood still exist, and, if not, how we should best perceive them.

The relative lack of concern with subcultural creativity is odd given that subcultures are necessarily innovative, and also given the CCCS emphasis on subcultures as creative, albeit in a quasi-automatic and ultimately ineffectual way, as will be returned to below. It is also peculiar given that the most iconic actors in the cultural and creative industries are cultural innovators: those who disrupt conventions in their various categories in order to champion new practices, meanings, myths and ideologies. The purpose of this project was to explore how we should best conceptualise subcultural innovation, and to think about how it is employed in the branding and marketing of places, styles and brands.

2. Conceptual background

There have been three main phases in sociology and/or cultural studies' approach to subcultures, from the deviancy approach of the Chicago School in the 1930s and '40s (Cressey 1932, Whyte 1955 [1943]), to the idea of 'resistance through rituals' associated with the CCCS in the 1970s (Hall & Jefferson 1976, Hebdige 1979), to debates around post-subcultural studies from the 1990s to the present (Bennett & Kahn-Harris 2004, Muggleton & Weinzierl 2003).

The CCCS famously - and influentially - regarded subcultures as creative and subversive, engaging in acts of *bricolage* by taking already existing items and artefacts and combining and using them in new and interesting ways. Punks, for example, took various stylistic influences and combined them with non-clothing items such as safety-pins and bin-liners to create a unique and initially *illegible* style of their own. Famously described by Dick Hebdige (in a phrase borrowed from Umberto Eco) as a form of 'semiotic guerrilla warfare' (1979: 105), from the CCCS perspective, such acts of meaning-making (or, in the Punks' case, meaning un-making) were subversive in the sense that they challenged already existing cultural codes.

Despite their emphasis on subcultural creativity, however, their largely semiotic approach meant that the CCCS tended to approach subcultures as texts, occluding or overlooking subcultures in practice and the actual acts or processes of creativity and innovation involved. Their predominantly Marxist theoretical framework also meant that such practices were seen less as fully agentic than as quasi-automatic responses to wider structural conditions, which were also doomed ultimately to fail in the sense that they played out symbolically without having wider structural effects. The romanticised view of subcultures as a subversive response by working-class youth to the wider difficulties and contradictions faced by the 'parent class' as a whole also contributed to a problematic focus on subcultures in their originary, apparently unsullied moments, before they were subsequently commoditised, diffused and *defused* (Sweetman 2013).

Post-subcultural studies has engaged in a sustained critique of the CCCS approach whilst attempting to develop models and conceptual frameworks which are better attuned to what are perceived to be increasingly fragmented and less ideologically committed times. Terms like 'scene' and 'tribe' have been put forward to address both apparent inadequacies in the CCCS framework per se, and related ideas suggesting that 'subcultures' have become increasingly diffuse, unstable and individualised. While certain contributors to these debates have also questioned the CCCS's romantic focus on 'authentic', pre-commoditised, working-class subcultures, however, insisting on a more complex relationship between subculture, media and commerce (Hodkinson 2002, Thornton 1995), such critiques have not been accompanied by a sustained focus on subcultural creativity, or sufficiently full exploration, within subcultural or post-subcultural studies, of subcultures as key innovators and contributors to the CCIs.

That is not to say such issues have been wholly neglected. Stepping outside of post-subcultural studies, Brinks and Ibert's (2015) analysis of 'enthusiast-driven innovation' is a case in point, despite focusing on 'communities of interest' rather than subcultures per se. Like Warren and Gibson's (2016) more specific study of the 'rise and fall of corporate surfing brands', however, which traces tensions involved in endogenously driven subcultural commercialisation, Brinks and Ibert also assume - or rather focus on - a particular form of linear trajectory - from subculture to commerce - which, somewhat like the CCCS model, neglects the more complex, messy and multi-directional relationship between subculture, media and commerce that Hodkinson (2002) and Thornton (1995) identify. Edwards and Corte's (2010) study of BMX presents a somewhat more complex picture, but their distinction between three different forms of commercialisation still assumes that there is a subculture *already there* waiting to be commercialised.

3. Aims and approach

Taking as its starting point the idea of subculture as a key source of innovation *and* Hodkinson (2002) and Thornton's (1995) identification of a more complex set of relationships between key actors than more linear models imply, the project outlined here looks at:

- How we should best conceptualise subcultural innovation/creativity;
- How subcultural innovation is employed in the marketing and branding of fashion and style;
- And how subcultural innovation is employed in the marketing and branding of place.

It was decided to address these questions by focusing largely but not exclusively on a case study of the Mod subculture and on its relationship with Brighton, a historic seaside resort on the UK's south coast, as a key subcultural locale. Despite its heyday being in the 1960s, Mod is an interesting and relevant case study in this regard because of its widespread and continuing influence (Weight 2015), its complex but arguably indicative relationship with the media and consumer culture, and its particular and longstanding association with Brighton as a notable subcultural locale. Brighton, in turn, is interesting because of its liminal reputation, which dates from the Regency Period and the (re-)commissioning of the Royal Pavilion in 1815 by the later King George IV (Shields 1991, Wilson 2001),[1] and, relatedly, the bohemian and counter-cultural feel of both the City as a whole and particular key areas, notably the 'urban village' that is Brighton's North Laine (Yuill 2012).

The question of how we should best conceptualise subcultural innovation/creativity was investigated via a review of the relevant academic literature, coupled with a review of Mod's development and history - and its relationship with media and commerce - and the subsequent proposal of a new framework approaching subcultures and subcultural innovation, via Actor Network theory, as networks and/or network effects respectively.

1 The Prince Regent, later King George IV, helped to popularise Brighton, a former fishing village, as a stylish and fashionable resort in the late eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. The remodelling of his Brighton residence, the Royal Pavilion, by architect John Nash, as 'an Oriental fantasy overlaid with Indian whimsies and imagined Arabic details' (Shields 1991: 76) - a stage for lavish parties and overall excess - helped to establish the myth of Brighton as a place of somewhat dubious pleasures, a myth which was subsequently embellished and retained (see also Wilson, 2001). His niece, Queen Victoria's dislike for the Pavilion - and, indeed, Brighton as a whole - was such that the building was sold to the, then, town authorities in 1850 for fifty thousand pounds (Musgrave, 1970: 252).

How subcultural innovation is employed in the marketing and branding of fashion and style was investigated, first, through the development of a 'visual inventory' (Suchar 2004) of small-scale or independent subcultural businesses in Brighton, followed by visual analysis[2] of selected window- and interior-displays, and both formal and informal interviews and discussions with a selection of the retailers involved.[3]

This was combined with visual analysis of the window- and interior-displays of selected subculturally associated brands' own brand-specific outlets over a more extended period, primarily in Brighton but also in London and elsewhere. This store-based analysis was supplemented by visual and textual analysis of the same brands' websites and selected marketing materials.

How subcultural innovation is employed in the marketing and branding of place was examined via the development of an ongoing visual inventory of subcultural markers, memorials and traces in Brighton throughout the project period, alongside visual and textual analysis of relevant parts of Brighton and Hove City Council's and associated websites, as well as other marketing materials. An interview was also conducted with Nick Hibberd, the Council's Executive Director for Economy, Environment and Culture. This was complemented by visual analysis and observation at selected events, which in the case of the annual *Mod Weekender* in August 2018 was supplemented by a small-scale written survey and informal discussions with several attendees.

The next section presents a brief history of the Mod subculture in order to provide the necessary context for the preliminary analysis of findings which follows.

2 Specifically, semiotic and what might best be described as *informal* content analysis; examining what the displays contained, how they were arranged and what their various elements signified.

3 Informal discussions with relevant retailers were conducted on an opportunistic basis throughout the project period; these were supplemented by extended, formal interviews with individual members of staff at two of Brighton's more Mod-focused retailers which were recorded and transcribed.

4. A brief history of the Mod subculture

Mod began in London in the late 1950s, when a relatively small group of young people calling themselves Modernists, after their love for modern jazz, began drawing on a range of sources including album covers by their favourite artists and the smart, preppy American look known as Ivy League, to create a new, self-conscious style of their own. The subculture grew in the 1960s, in part thanks to publicity from TV shows such as *Ready Steady Go!* (1963-6), and became increasingly influential, having a significant and lasting impact on the era as whole (Weight 2015). The 1960s Mods were associated with smart suits for the men and up-to-the-minute styles for both men and women, with music such as R&B and soul, and with a lifestyle that centred around shopping, nightclubs and dancing, sometimes fuelled by amphetamines (Hebdige 1976, 1979).

They were fastidious about their appearance and mannerisms, drawing on influences such as French, Italian and American fashion, and wider developments in design and visual art. They were inspired by films from the French new wave, as well as Italian films such as La Dolce Vita, by the aesthetics of professional European cycling, African-American culture and West Indian style. Quintessential Mod band, The Who drew inspiration directly from pop-art, appropriating and popularising symbols such as the RAF roundel and the Union Jack and using them to decorate their clothes. The Mods were keen on Italian scooters - Vespas and Lambrettas - and the men adopted American army-surplus parkas to keep their suits clean while they rode (figure 1).

Predominantly working-class, the Mods were aspirational and both keen participants in as well as important progenitors of the UK's emerging consumer culture. Their patronage of key figures such as menswear retailer John Stephens helped to put Carnaby Street on the map as the ground zero of British style. That is not

Figure 1: Mods in Peckham, South London, May 1964. Trinity Mirror/Mirrorpix/Alamy Stock Photo.

to suggest that they were passive consumers. Their creativity and innovation took the form of customising clothes from more mainstream retailers, designing them themselves, and also - and equally importantly - combining and wearing them in new and interesting ways.

They engaged in a form of bricolage not just by drawing on and pulling together a diverse range of stylistic sources, but also by wearing (riding, or listening to) them in quite particular ways. Combining a hand-made Italian-inspired suit with a French-style haircut and an American army-surplus parka was one thing, but so too was wearing that suit not to the office, but to a nightclub like the *Flamingo* or the *Scene*, and dancing all night to soul or R&B. Whilst aspirational, the Mod lifestyle was also subversive and parodic, taking objects and artefacts associated with European cool or the respectable middle-class and combining or employing them in ways which acted to undo or undermine 'their original straight meanings' (Hebdige 1979: 104; see also Hebdige 1976). And whilst influenced by popular and consumer culture, this exchange was also two-way; Mods were inspired by retailers, artists and designers, but also influenced them in turn, the subculture's forward-looking ethos and aesthetic coming to be associated with and applied to a diverse range of fields in addition to fashion, including architecture and interior design, advertising, television, cinema, photography and visual art (Weight 2015: 11). This foreshadowed the dynamics of contemporary fashion; today's fashion markets encompass overlapping styles, trends and subcultures, developed through interlocking circuits of production and consumption, imitation and inspiration (Gilbert 2000; Hauge 2007).

The wider context for the emergence and development of the subculture includes a host of social, political and economic, as well as cultural developments, not least increased affluence and social mobility, including amongst the young, but also more specific changes such as the creation of the National Health Service in 1948 and the phasing out of National (military) Service between 1957 and 1960, followed in the 1960s by 'the abolition of capital punishment, the decriminalising of homosexuality and abortion' and the increasing availability of the contraceptive pill, all of which 'was underpinned by' the waning influence of the church (Weight 2015: 3). Not only did many young people have more money, they also found themselves living in, and themselves contributed to, an increasingly liberal, less deferential, apparently more egalitarian and aspirational environment. Despite its complex entanglements with media and consumer culture right from the start, the subculture was increasingly commercialised from the early 1960s on, including in the United States, with retailers, music promoters and others attempting to cash-in directly on Mod style.

Some of the early Mods saw this as marking the death-knell of the subculture as they understood it, but historian Richard Weight (2015: 119) suggests it is also evidence of its increasing popularity and accessibility, as well as it's increasing influence in aesthetic terms. It can be read as further *complicating* the relationship between subculture, media and commerce rather than signalling a shift from

a pure or unadulterated subculture to one that subsequently existed only in a commoditised form. The subculture's status within the public eye also remained ambivalent, not least because of the considerable 'moral panic' generated around widely reported skirmishes between Mods and their apparent rivals the Rockers at seaside resorts such as Brighton, Clacton and Margate during the spring and summer Bank Holidays of 1964/5 (figure 2). As Stanley Cohen's (2002) contemporaneously researched account shows, not only did the media and authorities amplify the deviance to which their actions were an apparent response, they also cemented the distinction between the rival groups as well as firmly associating particular symbols - scooters, parkas, leather jackets and motorbikes - with each.

Figure 2: Mod versus Rocker disturbances in Brighton, May 1964. Trinity Mirror/Mirrorpix/Alamy Stock Photo.

Many of the original Mods decried the actions of those involved in the disturbances, who they saw as a distinct sub-group who failed to share the subculture's earlier ethos and intentions (Weight 2015: 87). The so called 'scooter boys' or 'hard-Mods' were later to develop into the more overtly masculine and working-class subculture of the Skinheads, while other branches of the Mod family fed into the Psychedelic movement and, later, 1970s developments such as Glam. The ska-influenced post-punk movement known as Two-Tone (after the record-label established by Specials founder Jerry Dammers) contributed to a widespread but short-lived Mod revival in the late 1970s and early 1980s, itself abetted by and reflected in the 1979 release of the film *Quadrophenia*, based loosely around an earlier concept album by The Who of the same name.

Filmed on location in London and Brighton, and set fifteen years previously, the film's protagonist, Jimmy, joins in enthusiastically with the Bank Holiday disturbances, before becoming disillusioned with the subculture and apparently riding a stolen scooter off the nearby cliff-top at Beachy Head. Cementing Brighton's position at the heart of the subculture, the film also acted as a template and instruction manual for Mod revivalists and later enthusiasts. As well as feeding directly into later developments such as *Britpop* in the 1990s and continuing to exert a considerable influence on British fashion and culture as a whole (Weight 2015), Mod itself has also survived in various factions and incarnations. And whilst the subculture per se is now considerably smaller than in its 1960s heyday, it lives on in the form of a relatively committed group of both British and international enthusiasts (Feldman 2009, Jenss 2015), served by specialist retailers such as London based online store the *Art Gallery*, and Brighton based stores *Immediate* and *Jump the Gun*, as well as groups such as the New Untouchables, who organise a variety of events including the annual *Mod Weekender*, which takes place in Brighton during the August Bank Holiday weekend, and is attended by large numbers of enthusiasts from the UK, Europe, Japan and elsewhere around the globe.

5. Preliminary findings

5.1. How should we best conceptualise subcultural innovation/creativity?

In contrast with the romantic model of subcultures as autonomous self-contained and pre-commoditised groupings which develop largely independently of and in opposition to media and commerce, and are only subsequently commoditised, diffused and *defused*, Mod displays a complex and symbiotic relationship with media and commerce right from the start. Whilst creative and subversive, the Mods were also *enthusiastic consumers*, who borrowed from media and stylistic sources before feeding back to both subculturally-oriented and more mainstream designers, retailers and others, including artists, photographers and filmmakers, and subsequently *re-appropriating* such influences in a re-mediated form. This is not to downplay the Mods' own creativity in their engagement with such cultural forms - or the importance of certain key actors within this - but rather to emphasise the complex, dialogic and multidirectional, as well as the *ongoing* nature of the relationships and exchanges involved.

One way to capture this would be to employ *Actor Network Theory* (ANT), which regards social phenomena, be they organisations or scientific discoveries, as *network effects*, the outcomes of diverse networks of actors of a variety of sorts coming together in potentially unstable alliances to re-arrange and re-order the world in various ways. Social phenomena are not discrete, concrete entities, but are the emergent properties of ongoing interaction, the shapes and meanings of which are not fixed but are defined in an ongoing tension with, or *in relation to*, other aspects of surrounding networks. Such acts of *translation*, as they are understood by ANT, sound very similar in some respects to what subcultural theory has cast as acts of *bricolage*, perhaps the key differences being, from the ANT point of view, the range and kinds of actors involved (including, where applicable, the objects being rearranged), and the point that how this works, and who or what plays an important part in the process, is a matter for investigation rather than something which should be assumed in advance (see, eg, Law 1992, 2009).

From this perspective both subcultures themselves and processes of subcultural innovation can be seen as *network effects*; not fixed or final things, but the ongoing accomplishments of diverse networks of constituents, objects and artefacts included. In the case of Mod, this would include the Mods themselves, but also retailers, designers, filmmakers, musicians and artists, as well as the mainstream

media and actors of other sorts. It would also include associated paraphernalia - not least scooters, parkas and hand-made suits. A network approach would both allow for and acknowledge the complex and dialogic relationship between the Mods themselves and their various partners in interaction, as well as an understanding of the subculture's development over time and the changing nature as well as the varying significance of the different actors involved.

Approached in this sway, *subcultural innovation* can therefore be seen as an act of translation or network effect, involving the re-assembly of heterogeneous elements into new networks, assemblages and configurations. Knowledge of which could then be said to constitute a form of *subcultural capital* (Thornton 1996) which can in turn be embodied or objectified - albeit in a tenuous and unstable way - in particular people, objects, or artefacts. Such actors might then be deemed 'authentic' - with authenticity regarded as a 'guarantor' of subcultural capital - but like subcultural capital this would itself be a relational property, or network effect, rather than an inherent property of the people, objects or artefacts concerned. All of which would imply that subcultural innovation, whilst potentially valuable, would also need to be handled with care. Meanings and therefore values are tenuous and relational network effects.

5.2 How is subcultural innovation employed in the marketing and branding of fashion and style?

The following looks first at smaller scale, independent Brighton-based retailers of subcultural and associated styles before examining the marketing and branding of two larger subculturally associated brands. The first section draws on the visual inventory of subcultural and associated businesses in Brighton conducted in September 2018, visual analysis of their window- and interior-displays, and the formal and informal interviews and discussions conducted with some of the retailers involved. The second draws on visual analysis of the window- and interior-displays of the selected brands' own brand-specific stores over a longer period, primarily in Brighton but also in London and, on a more ad hoc basis, elsewhere. It also draws on visual and textual analysis of their respective websites over the same period.

5.2.1 Independent retailers

Subcultural and associated retailers in Brighton range from: a) the tightly focused and specific to, b) those that offer a broader range of identifiably subcultural styles to, c) vintage- or retro-type stores whose stock is more broad ranging but which

encompasses a substantial proportion of items which are either directly associated or compatible with a range of subcultural styles. The first category includes Mod focused stores such as *Immediate* and *Jump the Gun*, the second includes more generic stores such as *Loot*, and the third includes stores such as *Independent Rag* (figures 1-4). The majority of these stores are located in or close to Brighton's North Laine, 'an urban village and cultural quarter' known for its independent retailers, pubs, cafes and restaurants, and its colourful 'countercultural' feel (Yuill 2012: 1.1).

Figure 3: *Jump the Gun*, Brighton.
Photograph: Paul Sweetman

Figure 4: *Immediate,* Brighton
Photograph: Paul Sweetman

Figure 5: *Loot,* Brighton.
Photograph: Paul Sweetman

Figure 6: *Independent Rag*, Brighton
Photograph: Paul Sweetman

The window- and interior-displays of the more tightly-focused subcultural retailers are carefully curated to display stylistic consistency and subcultural capital. In the case of Mod retailer *Jump the Gun*, for example, suits are carefully displayed with appropriate accessories alongside period furnishings and shop-fittings and assorted items - such as a scooter, period signs and advertising material, and enlarged black and white photographs with subculturally specific content and aesthetic appeal (figures 7-10[4]). This is in marked contrast with the less specific retailers' window- and interior-displays, which are necessarily more eclectic and less carefully curated to convey a consistent style or aesthetic appeal.

4 With thanks to *Jump the Gun*, Brighton.

Figure 7: window-display,
Jump the Gun, Brighton.
Photograph: Paul Sweetman

Figure 8: interior display,
Jump the Gun, Brighton.
Photograph: Paul Sweetman

Figure 9: interior display, *Jump the Gun*, Brighton.
Photograph: Paul Sweetman

Figure 10: interior display, *Jump the Gun*, Brighton.
Photograph: Paul Sweetman

The success of their efforts to convey subcultural authenticity and their place as significant actors within the subcultural network is confirmed in the case of the more specifically-focused retailers by their role, during key events such as the annual *Mod Weekender*, as focal points for subcultural activity: in the case of *Jump the Gun*, for example, there tend to be large numbers of scooters parked outside throughout, their ranks extending upwards towards the end of the street, and opposite a bar called the *Dorset* which is also a focal point for daytime and evening activity.

Figure 11.

Figure 12.

Figures 11-12: scooters parked outside and alongside *Jump the Gun*, Brighton, during the annual *Mod Weekender*, August 2018. Photographs: Paul Sweetman

If we see authenticity - as a guarantor of subcultural capital - as a network effect, then this implies that *each aspect* of the interior and exterior displays of the more specialist retailers is potentially important in establishing and maintaining this effect. The carefully curated window- and interior-displays of the more focused subcultural retailers therefore manage or *construct* authenticity in a potentially precarious balancing act in which these various factors, as well as the surrounding shops, streets and area as a whole, all pay a part. Assuming that the more specialist the retailer, the narrower the market, this in turn suggests a tension - or *trade off* - between authenticity and breadth: that what is gained in terms of subcultural capital is potentially lost in terms of wider market appeal. And equally that the more heterogeneous the retailer's appeal, the more difficult authenticity or subcultural capital is to curate.

It may be that the trade-off in question is less significant in the case of Mod than in the case of some other subcultures, specifically because of Mod's more general influence and appeal (Weight 2015). 'Mark',[5] a retailer at one of Brighton's more Mod focused stores told me that because they have 'grown up with it, because it was a subculture of their youth', ninety percent of men can understand and relate to it. He also questioned the notion of 'authenticity', saying 'you can't be authentic cause we don't live in '63 ... it just needs to be in-the-style-of, because you weren't there.' 'James', a retailer at another of Brighton's more Mod focused stores, noted, relatedly, that authenticity was 'difficult to pin down', given that the '60s Mods 'were constantly trying to innovate' and wore different outfits week by week. At the same time, however, he also suggested that 'attention to detail' was 'the name of the game', and that they like their displays to 'look the part'. Mark, similarly, noted the importance of detail and getting things 'right':

5 Names of retail informants changed for the purpose of anonymity.

> 'Oh, it's totally important, yeah ... the environment that you ... shop in needs to be right, as well as the product that you're selling, and then the customer service on top. Because even though it is a subculture, they are probably more demanding when it comes to things, because ... they do know their onions, and they ... want you to know your onions as well, and explain things to them.' (Mark)

This requirement for personal as well as curated subcultural capital may also lead to restrictions in the hiring of staff. As Mark put it:

> 'you have to portray what you sell, and you have to portray the knowledge that you have, and it's a lifetime's knowledge, it's nothing you read from a book ... so it's very difficult for someone to come in and ... engage with the ... customer base to such a degree.' (Mark)

James, similarly, noted that 'we only hire people we know', that 'knowledge is pretty important', 'every single person who works here is very into their clothes', and that this 'does get commented on quite a lot'. This links to the idea of 'aesthetic labour', where retail workers are required to act as 'branded service workers', embodying an appropriate image. Acting as vehicles of production of symbolic value and added brand value, the primary requirements are 'looking good' and 'sounding right' (Warhurst et al 2000). In the case of subcultural retail, however, such requirements for physical capital may be both more specific and combined with additional requirements for knowledge of a particular and perhaps implicit kind. Location may also be a key issue:

> 'I couldn't be as specifically Mod if I wasn't in Brighton ... you wouldn't get the people coming through ... So, it is paramount that you are in Brighton. It is the spiritual home of Mod, because of Quadrophenia, and because of the last Jam gig ... so if I wasn't in Brighton then it wouldn't work ... It's part of the culture, and it's part of the brand' (Mark)

Finally, the need to get things 'right' might also be assumed to be in tension with *ongoing* innovation, although as Richard Weight (2015) indicates and as Mark, James and others I spoke to reiterated, there are different strands within contemporary Mod subculture, ranging from the purists - for whom historical accuracy is of utmost importance - to those for whom it is the more general aesthetic and Modernist *ethos* that is key.

5.2.2 Subculturally associated brands

The following examines two case studies of brands with particular and identifiable subcultural associations, *Fred Perry* and *Dr. Martens*. The former began life as a sportswear company in 1952, manufacturing tennis shirts designed by former British Wimbledon Men's Champion, Fred Perry, while the latter was founded by the eponymous Klaus Märtens in Munich in 1947, as a manufacturer of practical and hard-wearing boots with 'air cushioned soles'. These were re-launched under patent in the UK by the R. Griggs Group in 1960.

Fred Perrys were adopted and popularised by the Mods in the 1960s - an example of their appropriation of 'symbols of middle- and upper-class life' (Weight 2015: 50) - and subsequently became popular with Skinheads, Mod revivalists, Casuals and others, as well as a staple and iconic item of casual British menswear as a whole. Dr. Martens, or *DMs*, were initially worn as work-boots, but were subsequently adopted by Skinheads in the late-1960s, and then by Punks and others in the 1970s, before becoming ever-more popular as a loosely 'alternative' item of footwear in the 1990s and beyond.

The window- and interior displays of the Fred Perry store in Brighton tend to be carefully curated to proclaim the brand's specific subcultural associations. Recent window displays have referenced '60s women's Mod influenced fashions and the Two-Tone movement of the late-1970s, for example, while the display featured in figure 13 is one of a pair of enlarged black and white photographs of the Mods versus Rockers disturbances of the 1960s, which were placed in the front window of the store during the bank-holiday weekend, and annual Mod Weekender, in August 2018.

Such displays are complemented, instore, by a bookcase featuring selected large format books on Mod and related subcultures with which Fred Perry is associated such as Skinhead and Northern Soul, accompanied, over the speakers, by a carefully selected playlist of appropriate music. The Fred Perry website, meanwhile, contains a section specifically headed 'Subculture', which, under the subheading 'The Brand', includes further sections on 'The Man', 'The Shirt' and 'The Fans.' While the first two focus on the brand's eponymous founder and the history

Figure 13: window-display, *Fred Perry* store, Brighton. Photograph: Paul Sweetman

of the shirt respectively, the third includes photos of Mods, Two-Tone fans and others, as well as associated musical figures such as Paul Weller and Specials singer Terry Hall. It also features the text, 'A part of British subcultural uniform since the 1950s, adopted by each generation as their own', and the slogans, 'The uniform of the non-uniform' and 'Adopted, never forced': https://www.fredperry.com/brandbook#the-fans.

These references to the brand's historical associations are balanced by more contemporary references, however: under the 'Subculture' heading, further subsections entitled 'Playlists', 'Discover', and 'Subculture Live' contain links to playlists and interviews, musical features and events, and Fred Perry's own longstanding series of brand-sponsored live events, all featuring both long-established and more up-and-coming figures representing an eclectic mix of musical genres and styles.

In comparison to Fred Perry, Dr. Martens' subcultural references tend to be somewhat more oblique and less specific. A long-running, multi-format window-display from 2014 asking 'What do you stand for?' featured visual and textual references to Punk, 'scooter boys', and, via the slogan 'Make Love Not War', the Hippies or counter-culture, with the various answers given to the question balanced by the more general exhortation to 'Stand for Something'. More recent window displays have featured the brand's 'Rock & Roll' and 'Tattoo' collections, as well as those using graphics associated with 'subculturally' associated acts ranging from post-punk Manchester bands *Joy Division* and *New Order* to counter-cultural West-Coast band the *Grateful Dead*. At the time of writing, a further collection featuring graphics associated with seminal UK punk band the *Sex Pistols* has just been revealed online. Meanwhile, the 'history' section of the website mentions numerous subcultures or 'tribes', but the emphasis is more on individual expression. Echoing the earlier window-display, the brand is said to 'appeal to people who have their own individual style but share a united spirit – authentic characters who stand for something. People who possess a proud sense of self-expression. People who are different' (https://www.drmartens.com/uk/en_gb/history).

Certain associations are also glossed over. An instore display in the London Covent Garden store in 2018 featuring short histories of some of the brand's most iconic footwear, stated that the '1490' boot was 'first adopted by punks, goths and scooter boys in the 70s', adding 'The distinctive style has been worn by countless other rebellious youth subcultures ever since'. In this case 'scooter boys' appears to be a euphemism for Skinheads, a more notable subculture in the 1970s and since, and one with which *DMs* are, in the UK at least, arguably more closely associated in the public mind. Skinheads are directly mentioned in the history section of the website, where they are described as the boots' first subcultural adopters, but specifically in

their '*early multi-cultural, ska-loving*' form - '*first generation skinheads*' who helped to change 'this functional work-wear boot into a subcultural essential' (https://www.drmartens.com/uk/en_gb/history, my emphasis). Whilst oft-repeated, however (and echoed in the distinctions expressed in Shane Meadows' film set in 1983, *This is England*), Richard Weight, for one, questions this 'myth' of the Skinhead subculture's 'benign early phase' (2015: 237).

Compared to Fred Perry, the brand's somewhat more oblique and generalised subcultural references may be partly because of *DMs* wider range of subcultural associations - from Skinhead to Punk, to Indie music, Grunge and beyond. It also seems to be a case of the brand 'hedging its bets', however, and, in the case of Skinhead, shying away from its association with a subculture known for violent behaviour and links to the far-right. Where Fred Perry appears to be using its subcultural capital to market a particular lifestyle and sensibility, *DMs* more oblique approach seems instead to be marketing more of a generalised attitude.

As with the different approaches adopted by Brighton's independent retailers, the somewhat contrasting approaches adopted by Fred Perry and Dr. Martens also suggest a tension or trade-off between authenticity and breadth; Fred Perry's more direct and specific approach allowing for the performative curation of authenticity whilst *potentially* limiting its breadth of appeal, while *DMs*' more oblique and less specific approach makes it more difficult to curate authenticity but potentially allows for broader market reach. *DMs*' occlusion of particular subcultural associations may also suggest a tension between authenticity and respectability, or edginess and respectability, where certain forms of subcultural capital are concerned.

Finally, and again similarly to the independent retailers, the branding strategies of both Fred Perry and *DMs* may also suggest a tension between claims to authenticity and ongoing innovation, their harnessing of subcultural capital to construct authenticity also limiting their ability to move too far away from their original, or authentic, styles and designs. In the case of Fred Perry however, this appears to be carefully managed by highlighting the brand's *ongoing* support for emergent as well as established subcultures and its contemporary as well as historical links and associations.

5.3 Brighton and place

Mod, in its various incarnations, has contributed significantly to Brighton's myth of place (Shields 1991), while Brighton, as a place, can also be seen as an important contributor to the subculture as a network effect. Several informants, including Mark and James, quoted above, referred to Brighton as the 'spiritual home of Mod', attributing this not to the Mod versus Rocker disturbances of 1964/5, but to the

re-mediated version of the subculture presented in *Quadrophenia* in 1979, again illustrating the complex and dialogic relationship between the lived subculture and the subculture in its more directly mediated forms. As has already been noted, the annual *Mod Weekender* takes place in Brighton over the August Bank Holiday weekend, with events centred around the Arches on Madeira Drive, a meeting place for Mods in the 1960s which also feature prominently in the 1979 film. This is where people gather and socialise, show off outfits and scooters (including, in 2018, a Lambretta ridden in the film) and so on (figures 14-15). It is also the starting point for the 'rideout,' a mass scooter ride to Beachy Head, in partial homage to *Quadrophenia's* opening and closing scenes.

Figure 14: annual *Mod Weekender* 2018, Madeira Drive, Brighton. Photograph: Paul Sweetman

Figure 15: annual *Mod Weekender* 2018, Madeira Drive, Brighton. Photograph: Paul Sweetman

Echoes and traces of the subculture appear throughout Brighton, serving as signifiers of both the subculture and the City itself. The RAF roundel, in particular, can be found standing in for the 'o' in the City's name on local business signs, and featured brightly in 2018's Christmas street-decorations in the North Laine (figures 16-17).

Figure 16. 'Echoes and traces', Brighton.
Photograph: Paul Sweetman

Figure 17. 'Echoes and traces', Brighton.
Photograph: Paul Sweetman

Less transient forms of memorialisation can be found in Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, with its specific *Mods & Rockers* display in the *Images of Brighton* gallery (figure 18), and separate showcasing of a 'Mod outfit' from 1965 which, alongside outfits associated with other subcultures, forms part of the *Renegade* section of the Museum's gallery of *Fashion & Style* (figure 19). Described as showcasing 'alternative styles of clothing' associated with 'subcultures with a strong presence in Brighton', the *Renegade* display sits alongside sections on *George IV* and *Internationalism* - as well as a newer *Queer Looks* section - 'selected because they reflect different aspects of Brighton life'.

Figure 18: ' Mods & Rockers ',
Brighton Museum & Art Gallery.
Photograph: Paul Sweetman

Figure 19: ' Mod outfit ',
Brighton Museum & Art Gallery.
Photograph: Paul Sweetman

Elsewhere, Brighton's *Old Police Cells Museum* makes a feature of still extant graffiti added to the cells by Mods and Rockers detained during the disturbances of 1964/5, while another key location in *Quadrophenia*, the alleyway where Jimmy and Steph, his largely unrequited object of affection, engage in a brief moment of passion during a riot scene, now has official recognition in the form of its own street-sign (figure 20).

Figure 20: Quadrophenia Alley, Brighton. Photograph: Paul Sweetman.

In spite of such physical traces and displays, however, there is only limited reference to Mod in the City's online marketing material. The only references to the subculture on the main 'History and Culture Attractions' pages of the official *Visit Brighton* website (https://www.visitbrighton.com/) are passing mentions of the graffiti at the Old Police Cells Museum, and a picture of the Who backdropped by an RAF roundel illustrating the mural of Brighton-associated musicians at 'Brighton Music Tunnel'. Under 'shopping', the page devoted to the North Laine refers to 'retro chic', 'vintage fashion' and '50s kitsch', but not to Mod (or any other subcultures) as such.

It may be that such limited references are as much a reflection of the *range* of attractions the City has to offer as they are an indication of any notable reticence about Brighton's subcultural associations as such. To the extent that Mod is associated more with the 1960s than with now, it may also reflect a wish to present a forward-looking impression, although this is at least partially belied by the widespread references to other aspects of the City's heritage. Despite stressing that Brighton's subcultural associations contribute positively to the City's 'quality of place' and are generally to be celebrated, Nick Hibberd, the City Council's Executive Director for Economy, Environment and Culture, also expressed certain reservations during interview about making too much of these, both in order to avoid stereotypical representations of the City and instead to reflect its variety and heterogeneity, and also to ensure its continued relevance to an emerging and increasingly diverse demographic. Although this was not an issue that emerged during the interview, it seems plausible, too, that any such ambivalence over the City's subcultural associations may also reflect the *double-edged* nature of subculture captured in the Mod-related exhibits in Brighton's museums: style and innovation on the one hand and (apparently) anti-social elements on the other. This would parallel the City's approach to graffiti or street-art: while 'artistic' forms of graffiti are actively supported and celebrated as a key attraction on the *Visit*

Brighton website (https://www.visitbrighton.com/inspire-me/top-ideas/top-10-brighton-graffiti-art), 'tagging' and other forms of apparently unattractive graffiti - although an integral part of the graffiti subculture (Macdonald 2001) - are regarded as a form of vandalism and officially condemned.

The potential tension between edginess and respectability in the marketing of subcultural capital may also reflect a tension between authenticity and incorporation as understood by those involved. Half of the participants in the survey of those attending this year's *Mod Weekender* felt that Brighton makes enough of its subcultural associations, including Mod, and two-thirds felt that it marks them in an appropriate way. Half were either unsure or felt that the City could do more, however, and in response to whether it marks such connections appropriately, one participant noted that 'The clothes, music and scooters are the most important not the Mods/Rocker thing!', while another felt that 'The people ... do, but some ways it's presented could seem cheesy' (see appendix). Although he felt that Brighton's subcultural connections and their contribution to the local economy were insufficiently appreciated or understood by civic authorities, Mark, the retailer quoted earlier also wondered whether more could, or should, be done in celebration and support:

> 'you know that's a funny thing ... yes, I think you could do, but, I think the nature of a subculture, if it got championed by the powers that be, I think the subculture would probably die, because people wouldn't want it. So, if the Council got on board and made a massive hoo-rah about Modernism ... I think it would turn a lot of people off ... Because it would no longer be subculture ... it would no longer be perceived as cool.' (Mark)

James, also quoted earlier, expressed a similar view, noting that, 'once a subcultural activity, kind of by definition an underground movement, has been endorsed by an authority figure, you could argue that that strangles its credibility'; it 'would be corrosive to subcultural expression'.

6. Summary and conclusions

This report has outlined the preliminary results of a study on subcultures and innovation conducted during 2018. Two of its starting points were, first, the need to take seriously subcultures as sources of creativity and innovation and as significant contributors to the CCIs, and, second, the idea of a more complex relationship between subcultures, media and commerce than more linear, romanticised models might imply. It looked at:

- How we should best conceptualise subcultural innovation/creativity;
- How subcultural innovation is employed in the marketing and branding of fashion and style;
- And how subcultural innovation is employed in the marketing and branding of place.

Having addressed the conceptual background to the study the report went on to present a brief history of Mod as the key case study. On this basis it was suggested that we should best approach subcultures and subcultural innovation as *network effects*, the ongoing accomplishments of diverse networks of constituents coming together to re-arrange and re-order the world in various ways. Such an approach moves away from a simple, linear-origins model of subcultures and subcultural innovation, allowing one to address both the range of actors and the dialogic, performative and relational nature of the processes involved.

The report then went on to look at how subcultural innovation - in the form of subcultural capital - is employed in the marketing and branding of fashion and style and in the marketing and branding of place. In the case of fashion and style it was suggested that for both independent retailers and fashionable brands, subcultural capital is key to the curation of authenticity which may itself be regard as a valuable resource. At the same time, it comes with potential costs, notably tensions or trade-offs between authenticity and breadth and authenticity and innovation, although in the case of Fred Perry, for example, it was suggested that the latter was ameliorated by highlighting not simply the band's established subcultural

credentials, but also its ongoing *support* for contemporary subcultures and styles.

In the case of subculture and place, it was suggested that Mod forms a significant contribution to Brighton's 'place-myth' (Shields 1991), and is written into the physical texture of the City in the form not just of commercial outlets, but also traces, memorials and official displays. The latter also suggest a degree of ambivalence, however, reflecting a tension between edginess and respectability which may also be experienced as a tension between authenticity and incorporation as understood by those involved.

In conclusion it should be noted that to focus on some of the *particular* ways in which subcultural innovation is employed may be to downplay its *overall* effects, which, in the case of Mod, have been both wide-ranging and significant (Weight 2015). It should also be noted that Mod is a particular case, and that the way these processes play out will vary from subculture to subculture and should be regarded as a matter for investigation rather than supposed in advance. At the same time, the value of subcultural capital in curating authenticity and some of the key tensions and issues involved can be expected to play out more generally and should not be assumed necessarily to be specific to the case studies explored. It may also be that certain more general conclusions can be reached:

- that subcultures and subcultural innovation are best approached as complex, network effects;

- that building on subcultural capital and associations may be an effective way for brands and other actors to perform or curate authenticity;

- but that this is not available to all such actors and is dependent on already existing subcultural connections;

- that the relational nature of such effects may also lead to tensions or trade-offs, such as between authenticity and breadth, authenticity and innovation and authenticity and incorporation;

- and that the maintenance of subcultural associations and capitals may entail both careful attention to detail and ongoing involvement and support.

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Appendix

Summary of results of survey of attendees at the annual *Mod Weekender,* Madeira Drive, Brighton, August 2018:

A short (two-sided) written-survey was distributed to thirty attendees at Brighton's annual *Mod Weekender* on Sunday 26 August 2018. It was completed by sixteen men and fourteen women, the majority of whom were aged fifty or above.

On a scale of one to five, the large majority of respondents (26/30) felt that Brighton's Mod and/or other subcultural associations and connections were of considerable importance. At the same time, just over two-thirds (21/30) said that they would still visit the city without these associations. Exactly half felt that Brighton does make enough of these connections while just under a third (9/30) said it does not, and a further six were unsure. Two-thirds felt that the City marks its subcultural associations and connections - including Mod - in an appropriate way, with only three in disagreement but just over a third (11/30) still felt that more could be done in this regard.

Specific suggestion for improvement in the way that Brighton marks its subcultural associations and connections - including Mod - included road closures during the *Mod Weekender*, along with the provision of an 'area where people can meet/ socialize, [and] park scooters safely', while others suggested a greater number of associated events, including in a wider variety of locations. Less event-specific suggestions included associated commercial provision - more vintage and vinyl stores and a 'Mod Café with ... 60s influence' - and greater 'exposure of Mod's history', along which lines others suggested keeping locations 'like the café in Quadrophenia open for tours' and 'perhaps a museum', and making 'the iconic places more accessible'. In response specifically to the question about whether Brighton marks its subcultural connections - including Mod - appropriately, one respondent who disagreed noted, that 'The clothes, music and scooters are the most important not the Mods/Rocker thing!', while another, who was unsure, felt that 'The people about do, but some ways it's presented could seem cheesy'. One person felt 'More should be done as people come from France and Vienna and all over to attend the Mod Weekend', while another, in the 'additional comments' section, noted similarly that 'Brighton should embrace the Mod weekender as it brings a lot of trade ... people come from all over the country and Europe - we meet up with friends annually'.


YORK
Lambretta